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ABSTRACT

The history of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School is a microcosm of 500 years of Indian policy. Established through the efforts of career military man Richard Pratt in 1879, the school symbolized the emerging view of assimilation, an important change from earlier attempts at genocide and prior militant attitudes towards the Indians. Long interested in Indian education, Pratt established the school's goal of assimilative education and sought to achieve it by totally immersing Indian students in the white world. He changed the name, appearance, language, clothes, and manners of every student through a three-phase program of work programs, European classroom instruction and shop education, and a live-in program with white American families. The initial supposed success of Carlisle led to the government's founding of 25 more off-reservation boarding schools. White-Indian relations, federal Indian policies, and Pratt's own Indian theories were prevailing elements in the school's history, the latter in particular leading to the demise of Carlisle as Pratt differed openly with President Roosevelt over educational policy. About 1913, the government closed Carlisle claiming bankruptcy. Throughout its existence, however, the school reflected the ethnocentric and paternalistic attitude characteristic of federal Indian policy as a whole. (SB)

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THE INSTITUTION OF CARLISLE SCHOOL:
A MICROCOSM OF 500 YEARS OF INDIAN POLICY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Preface

For purposes of clarity and organization this paper begins with a brief preface. This section outlines the goals of this project and includes the means by which I have chosen to acheive these goals. Hopefully 'these goals' will encourage the construction of a valid argument.

This work attempts to answer the question "why did the Carlisle Indian Boarding School formed in 1879 by Richard Pratt finally cease to exist during the beginning of the 20th century?"

To answer this question, one must consider the historical, cultural, and economic conditions of nearly 500 years of history, spanning from 'precontact' to the present. The Carlisle School was an institutional product formed by a historo-cultural set of events. Thus, an understanding of the formation, existence, and decline of this institution explicitly includes an understanding of the historical period which helped to create these events.

'Part I' of this paper begins with a historical sketch of the pre-Carlisle period. First, it describes the coming of the Europeans. Next, it describes the most influential events concerning the relationships of EuroAmericans and 'Indians' from 'discovery' until the period which made way for the creation of the Carlisle Boarding School. This includes a short biography of its founder, Richard Pratt.

'Part II' describes the Carlisle School, paying special attention to the goals it promulgates. This section

depicts the recruitment, and the types of living and learnin in the school.

'Part III' once again presents a historical sketch. First, it describes in a historical context, how the school was actually formed. This section next emphasizes the political changes during the schools existence. In doing so, it also attempts to analyze why these changes arose and how they eventually influenced the closure of Pratt's school.

Finally, 'Part IV' deals with the question from a post-closure approach. It views the Carlisle educational experience as a microcosm of Indian affairs throughout 'new world' history.

Author's note:

Throughout this work, there are numerous historical references pertaining to Indian educational policy and general Indian-United States policy. This includes a set of misnomers commonly used to describe the Euro-white tones of the times. As author, I refuse to endorse or condone these patently ethnocentric policies, terminologies, and feelings which deny the advantages, or more precisely, the mere existence of the ideals of cultural pluralism.

Part I

"Wherein lies a valid and accurate approach to the question of Native American education as well as to all other areas of Indian affairs."[1]

Many historical events have helped to construct the socio-political characteristics of our country. Undoubtedly, one of the most influential of these events was the "inexorable peopling" of what is presently the United States.[2] This clearly marked the outset of a presumably everlasting relationship, one between the Europeans and the natives of the 'new world'.

During the early 16th century, Europe was undergoing a constant expansion. This growth in possessions and wealth was brought about by three major colonizers, ~~Those were~~ France, Spain, and England. This period of colonization, lasting from the late fifteenth until the middle of the sixteenth century, was marked by the discovery, exploration, and settlement of vast land masses.

Spain, France, and England each claimed and settled in distinct areas. Each brought with it the religion, language, and traditions of its homeland. And each related to the natives in a distinct manner.

Spain made its first discovery of the 'new world' in 1492 with the infamous Columbus expedition. Spanish conquest, encouraged by the manifest destiny of the Catholic Church, and the Royal Crown, immediately followed 'Spanish discovery.' This conquest, which focused its attack upon what is now known as Central and South America, was marked by the brutal overthrow and enslavement of advanced native

states.

Although Spanish settlement in the 'new world' is best remembered by Pizarro's attack on the Incas or Cortes' overthrow of the Aztecs, it also consisted of religious and exploratory missions to the "Northern Americas", or present-day United States.

England and France first sought land and riches north of the Spanish zone of settlement. These people made their first settlements on the eastern shores of North America. Unlike the Spaniards, the French and English found no major states to conquer. Instead, they met many diverse native tribes.

English and French treatment of the native peoples was dissimilar to the manner in which Spain treated the natives of the 'Americas". Despite the initial formation of treaties between the Europeans and native 'American', these 'Indians' were still conquered. This conquest was not short and brutal, but long and constantly destructive. Despite the existence of treaties, indians were never viewed as 'true humans' or people of white-European descent.

During the first two centuries following 'discovery', two pools of thought concerning the American natives developed. Each of these views perceived the natives as veritable 'barbarians'. They differed however, in their respective cures for this presumed 'barbarism'. The first viewpoint believed that a massive genocide would solve the 'Indian problem'. This was a popular conception of the 18th

and 19th century frontiersmen, the people responsible for the 'treaty defying' westward migration of Euro-Americans in this country. The second school of thought held a 'more humanitarian' outlook toward the solution of the 'Indian problem'. It felt that forced education upon the natives would eventually humanize them.

Since "the discovery of America came at a time when the missionary zeal of the Christian Church was at a high ebb," the Franciscan, Jesuit, and Protestant missionaries played the primary role for educating the Indians.[3]

These two prevailing opinions of the native peoples of post settlement times may presently be considered to be highly ethnocentric. Needless to say, the concept of cultural pluralism was not present at that time period. Accordingly, the colonial peoples did see a major difference between their two solutions to their conception of an 'Indian problem'. They viewed the second solution as a 'humanitarian solution' rather than a 'lesser of two evils'.

This perception implicitly denies the competence of natives for self-education of their young. However:

> Education to be sure, is not the invention of the white man, nor is it his sole possession. Every society devises means for socializing young and transmitting its culture.[4]

Although hatred for Indians remained high, the 'genocide solution' was gradually dismissed as impracticle. Thus, assimilation through Christianization and education became the thrust toward civilization of natives.

Finally, after three centuries, missionary schooling was finally assessed a failure. Attendance was poor, costs

were high, and successful assimilation was infrequent.

> "The net results of almost a hundred years of effort and the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars for Indian education were a small number of poorly attended mission schools, a suspicious and disallusioned Indian population and a few hundred products of missionary education, who, for the most part, had either returned to the blanket or were living as misfits among the white population."[5]

The period shortly after the civil war marked the beginning of a new era concerning native American education. This policy change was sparked by an 1868 Congressional review of Indian education calling conditions "deplorable."[6] The 'humanitarians' of this period called for educational reform; however, they still felt that education and assimilation were the best means for achieving this education.

This 'humanitarian' call for action was answered by the creation of two measures:

1) federal government schooling responsibility
2) off-reservation boarding schools

In 1879 this plea was indirectly answered by a bill providing for the first governmental off-reservation boarding school, the Carlisle School. Most appropriately, this school was founded by a 19th century 'humanitarian', Richard Pratt. An account of the founder follows.

Author's note:

Before Part II is started, it is important for the reader to realize the consequences of this history which was briefly sketched. The 'European discovery' of the 'new world' and their subsequent settlement has had and continues to have an enormous impact on Euro-Native relations in this country. These actions also affect Indian education:

> "The history of white society in regard to Indian education reflects the drama of the inexorable peopling of this continent by those unable or unwilling to establish and maintain a humane, fraternal, and respectful relationship with the prior residents of the land."[6]

Part II

Richard Henry Pratt was born in 1840 on a farn in the Genesee Valley of New York State.[7] When he was six years old his family moved to Logansport, Indiana.[8] Pratt lived and worked in Indiana until he was twenty. At this tiem, Indiana marked the frontier of westward expansion. Thus Pratt had his first informal associations with Indians.

1840??? almost 100% had been "removed" by 1835!

In May, 1861, Richard Pratt joined the volunteer army fighting in the Civil War.[9] He served courageously during this war, having taken part in "several sharp fights."[10] After this war, Pratt remained an enlisted man, serving governmental functions for thirty years.

In 1867, after the war, Pratt began his service in the Southwest. During these years following the Civil War, Pratt frequently commented on the status of the Native American:

> "During the Civil War, the previous indifferent management of our Indians went into greater chaos--I say indifferent because there never was a settled energetic policy looking to Indian civilization and citizenship. The Indians were simply pests in our way, to be ejected whenever our covetous frontier people wanted the land which was the Indians' home."[11]

This marked Pratt's first concern for the status of the "Indian problem".

This time period was also marked by widespread U.S. treaty abrogation; the natives of this area who were losing their 'reserved lands' were naturally infuriated.

The southwest's military forces (of which Pratt was a member), commanded by Lieutenant-General Sheridan, served to promote "a vigorous campaign against the restless hostiles, then including nearly all of the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Anapahoe Indians."[12]

Despite Sheridan's "vigorous campaign," these natives remained unhappy and continued to air their disatisfactions. Due to this failure, Sheridan drew-up another plan. His proposal read:

> "These Indians are constantly invading the settlements. If I have permission I will chase them down this summer, fall, and winter and make them tired of that business, then I will select from among them the ringleaders and the worse of the masses, a large party and send it to some remote eastern military fort, so far away from their home and so restrained that any violence will be impossible, and I will keep them under this restraint until they have changed their minds and learned that it is hopeless for them to continue further hostilities."[13]

After the President of the U.S. approved this program, Pratt was assigned to keep charge of these prisoners.

As a result of this program, seventy-two "hostile ringleaders" were convicted. These men, under the assigned leadership of first Lieutenant Pratt, became the first prisoners of the Florida Indian prison located in St. Augustine.[14]

During this period, Pratt became concerned specifically with Indian education. During his command at the prison camp, Pratt suggested to General Sheridan: "that while under this banishment they (the Indians) should be

industrially trained, educated, and civilized so far as possible, so that if returned to their people they would go back as influences for good."[15] According to Pratt, "it seemed best to get them out of their [illegible] class."[16] When Pratt received permission from his superior officer he embarked on his first Indian educational project.

"Freed from their irons,", these Indians began their industrial training by polishing 10,000 sea beans for which they received $10,000.[17] As time passed and Pratt developed a modicum of trust in his Indians, these prisoners were allowed to find odd jobs about town, outside of the prison's refinement.

The improvement of industrial capabilities of these Indians was accompanied by formal education. "Benevolent ladies" sought to teach these people the basics in formal education, reading (English), writing and arithmetic.[18]

After several years of such training, Pratt's assimilationist project became successful. He claimed that "the daily contact with our (white man's) kindly people brought amazing results in transforming them into capable civilized men."[19] According to Pratt, the height of this success was evidenced in the desires of many Indians to attend schools of higher education.

After many college level schools rejected the first Indian applicants, Hampton, a school of Negro education under the administration of General Armstrong, finally accepted seventeen of these students. These chosen students

were escorted by Pratt to Hampton, Virginia, where they were placed in various white homes. Shortly thereafter, Pratt received orders to remain in charge of the Indians at Hampton "until they became accustomed to their new mode of life and interested in educational pursuits."[20]

Although Pratt notified the Secretary of War, Mr. McCrary "that the Indians were now accustomed to their new mode of life and interest in educational pursuits", he was ordered to remain at Hampton Institute.[21] In fact under an amendment of the Army appropriation bill, Pratt was detailed to remain in charge of the Indians at Hampton.[22]

Pratt remained at Hampton for one more year. During this time he became convinced that an off-reservation boarding school would achieve the best results if indians were integrated with white people, "not negroes."[23] Pratt claimed:

> "Experience had shown that the few Indians, if properly handled could easily and quickly be merged and assimilated in their interests with our white population, from when they could best get the high and better ideas of life they all needed to become useful citizens."[24]

These words from officer Pratt help to convey his equivocality concerning the quality of Indian education at Hampton. Thus, he became determined to undertake the formation of a segregated off-reservation Indian school.[25]

Officer Pratt promptly went to Washington, D.C. to discuss this idea with the Secretary of Interior, Mr. Schurz. Pratt suggested that the unoccupied military barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania should be transformed into a special school for Indians. He felt that the "industrious people" of

the Cumberland Valley would create a positive environment for the Indian students.[26]

After approximately three years of legislation, lobbying, and bargaining, the barracks were finally turned over to the Interior Department for use as a n Indian school.[27] Mr. Pratt had finally acheived the means to enact his preconceived philosophies concerning Indian education.

The formation of Carlisle School was viewed by many people as progress toward the solution of the 'Indian problem.' In fact some equated its goal of assimilative education to the ultimate solution of this 'problem.' Both points of view however, were based upon historically relative preconceptions concerning the mentality, personality, and potential of all Indians. All of these preconceptions were based upon the ethnocentric outlooks characteristic of many 19th century Europeans.

The words of Avery McKenzie, a student of Indians affairs, manifest the feelings of the times:

> "There are two opposing theories concerning the Indian, with no middle ground of compromise between, upon both of which we have attempted to build. If the Indian be essentially inferior to the white man, it is foolish, if not criminal to force him into the stream of white civilization. Schooling and civil rights are a curse, not a blessing. If however, the distinction is chiefly one of experience and tradition- if the Indian is potentially on a substantial par with the white man, then the "vanishing policy" is the only policy..."[28]

Pratt undoubtedly held the second belief. He knew from his previous experiences at the Florida prison, and the Hampton Institute that Indians were endowed with 'par-white' intelligence. Pratt viewed this"vanishing policy" as assim-

ilative education. Gradually all "red men" could learn to be white men. Thus Carlisle proudly publicized its beacon; "to civilize the Indian; get him into civilization; to keep him civilized, let him stay."[29]

In effect, Carlisle School as an institution of education was a product of the changing feelings concerning "the place of Indians" in the United States. The pedantic experiences of William Pratt lent creedence to the belief that Indians had the potential to be molded into 'civilized white-Europeans'. People discarded hackneyed genocidal solutions and replaced them with assimilative solutions. The formation of this school marked the crystalization of these assimilative goals, for the controllers of our nation, the power structure, had decided to implement a new solution to the 'Indian problem'.

Immediately following the 1879 legislation concerning the approval of Carlisle School, Pratt began to make provisions for the first school year. These provisions attempted to achieve three goals. These were the physical renovation of the Carlisle barracks, the recruitment of teachers, and most importantly the recruitment of potential Indian students.

The first function was achieved by Pratt's former student-prisoners. Hampton granted permission to these Indian transfers for the rebuilding of the Carlisle barracks into suitable dormitories and classrooms.[30]

At the same time Pratt asked many people to take part in the educational process at Carlisle. These people included past teachers from the prison school and Hampton School.

Meanwhile, Pratt and several of his former students, under orders from the Indian Bureau, were in charge of student recruitment. Pratt's recruitment pool was the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Agencies, while two of his former students concentrated on the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe Agencies.[31] These men were able to recruit 144 pupils, 100 boys and 44 girls. On November 1, 1879, school was ready to begin.[32]

The living and learning experiences at Carlisle reflected the goals stated in the school's beacon. From arrival until graduation, the students were taught to live-like, act-like, and if possible to become the replication of a 'civilized white person.'

These new students underwent the most drastic assimilative changes within the first few months after their arrival. During this period, they were required to undergo a veritable metamorphosis of physical character. Pratt and the Interior Department, the rulers of the school, both felt that the first step toward the achievement of 'Indian civility' was to make them look like white men. The Interior Department's preliminary report on Carlisle describes the physical appearance of these incoming Indians with a tone of disapproval:

> "A few of the older pupils had received some instruction and training before coming to this school, eg. in Florida under Lieutenant Pratt, at Hampton Normal School, and in the mission schools at the tribal agencies. More than a hundred of them however, were last October utterly without any civilized knowledge or training whatever...They were brought to the barracks filthy, vermin covered, and dressed in their native garb."[33]

Therefore, according to the feelings of the school's policy-makers, it was imperative that these "barbaric traits" be removed immediately. So as formal classes began, each student was physically assimilated; all long hair was cut, all bodies were bathed, and all native garb was discarded. Finally, all students were assigned an "American name" According to the Interior Department's report, "everything except swallowing, walking, and sleeping had to be taught; the care of person, clothing, furniture, the usages of the table, the carriage of the body, had to be strenously inculcated."[34]

The school's policy concerning the assignment of housing was closely associated with this physical purging. Students of the same tribe were forbidden to live in the same bunkroom. According to Pratt this acheived two goals; it promoted use of English, and broke-up "race clannishness." Pratt felt that the achievement of these goals by racial integrational-segregational means was a "most important victory in getting the Indian toward real citizenship."[35]

The intangible assimilative goals of the Carlisle School were acheived by three basic programs. These in-

cluded classroom and shop education, various work programs, and an "outing" program. According to the school's policy, each of these programs required a period of years for success. Each necessitated an internalized change in thought and perception of life on the part of the Indians, a lengthy process.

The education and work programs were carried out on a daily basis. Each was apportioned one-half day, which provided ample time for a study session each evening.[35.5]

The educational system consisted of the basic European system, reading, writing, and arithmetic supplemented by classes in physical education. These subjects were taught with emphasis placed upon discipline. For example, at no time were the students allowed to talk in their native tongue. Classes were carried out in typical 'European classrooms' by the previously recruited teachers.

Indian physical prowess was achieved in a gymnasium with a specially trained physical education instructor.

Industrial education was just as important as classroom education. Mr. Pratt, using his past knowledge, (i.e. Hampton, Florida) implemented these programs at the outset of the school's first year. According to Pratt, Carlisle "was to be a thouroughly practical industrial school, so that the industries taught would, as far as could be done in a school, enable the young Indians to go out and work at what they had learned."[36]

These programs encouraged industrial and agricultural

interests. Teachers of trades such as wagonmaking, tinsmithing, and carpentry were available to the boys, while teachers of sewing, mending, and housekeeping were available for the females. The school also owned an operational farm for the purpose of teaching men and women farming skills.

Despite the achievements of these previously mentioned programs, Pratt believed that the Carlisle "outing system" was the most successful agent of assimilation.

> "An Indian can do no better thing for himself than to spend years among the best whites, gaining their language, intelligence, industry, and skill in the fullest and quickest way, and if he begets a desire to continue that association for life...why forbid or limit his possibility, his rights as a man, or his liberty, under any pretense whatever?"[37]

This program, which placed Indian students in the homes of white Americans, was implemented during the summer following the formation of Carlisle School. Pratt claimed that the outing program was essential to a complete education, one which enabled Indians to assimilate into white towns and cities "straight from the camps."[38]

"It enforced participation--the supreme Americanizer."[38.5]

This "outing" program began the summer after the school's conception. Students were assigned to homes according to the needs and desires of the student and his potential surrogate family.[39] In no way, were these students to be treated as slaves. It was made quite clear that these students were to be treated only as family members.[40] Thus, they became familiarized with the etiquette and

customs of American home life.

The Carlisle School along with its intrinsic assimilative and 'civilizing' programs remained a vital contributor toward Indian education for more than a quarter of a century. In 1903, at the age of 62, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Pratt, forced to retire as an army officer, submitted his resignation as superintendent to the Carlisle School.[41] Within fifteen years after his resignation the Carlisle school ceased to exist. This institutional death occured, despite Pratt's expansive lists of the school's educational accomplishments.

Over the years, Pratt wrote many papers which emphasized the 'extensive accomplishments' throughout the growth of his school. A summary of Pratt's list follows:

"1) In 1875 total Indian youth in government and church schools equalled 6101 (exclusive of 5 civilized tribes). But in 1904 there were 30, 288 Indian students of the same counting pool in school (According to Pratt this was due to growth of Carlisle-styled off-reservation boarding schools--refer to #2).

2) In 1875 there were no off-reservation schools. In 1904 there were 25 of these with an enrollment of 9300.

3) In 1897 the school had 68 different tribes in school membership.

4) Outing system of 1879 grew each year until in 1904 the results were astounding."[42]

Part III

But why, in light of this expansive list of accomplishments did the Carlisle School fail? Was it 'death' ostensibly related to Pratt's resignation? If not, then what factors can account for its closure?

Practically speaking, there are no simple answers to such questions. The answers to these questions are inextricably related to the historical events which coincided with the existence of the Carlisle School.

At least three prevailing parameters, each intimately related to this period, interacted to determine what is now considered to be the history of the Carlisle School. These were the white-Indian relations, the government-Indian policies, and the Pratt 'Indian theories.' It is the opinion of the author that these three factors combined to determine the formation, 'flourishing', and eventual downfall of the Carlisle School. Therefore, an understanding of the above question mutually includes an understanding of the factors which ultimately contributed to the existence of the social phenomena at hand. A review of these factors follows.

As mentioned in the section concerning the prehistory of Carlisle School, its formation was a reflection of changing "Euro-white' ideals with respect to the solution of the 'Indian problem.' This solution was the assimilation of Indians into the mainstream of white society.

This assimilationist period was preceded by a more militant period in which the most prevalent solution to the Indian problem was the widespread extermination of native Americans. The transition from the 'assimilationist' to to the 'militant' period had a definite turning point. The Indians resistance to force proved the ineffectiveness of the 'genocidal approach'.

> "The Indian tribes remained an embarrassing impediment to manifest destiny. For these who found processes of outright extermination offensive, education to impose assimilation.... seemed necessary."[43]

During the Civil War and the years immediately thereafter, a young soldier Richard Pratt became extremely interested in Indian education. He had first hand information concerning the results of the "American" brutality and military force against the Indians; thus, he became interested as to whether assimilative education was a potential solution to this 'problem'.

Indian affairs during the Civil War were neglected. In 1868 a congressional committee described the "deplorable conditions' of Indian education in the U.S.[44]

During the decade following the Civil War, Pratt gained much experience in the field of Indian education. He worked with Indians in educational surroundings at the Florida military school and the Hampton Academy. The results of these experiences served to intensify his attitudes concerning the values of assimilative education. These same experiences eventually led Pratt to push for the

formation of a federally-approved Indian boarding school. His arguments concerning the advantages of such a program were successful, for by 1879 the War Department and the Interior Department under Secretary Schurz made appropriations for law providing for the formation of a school of this nature. In 1879, Congress expressed its approval of such a program along with its confidence in Officer Pratt, by passing a bill providing for a federal off-reservation boarding school.

In 1879, one month after the Congressional approval was made, Carlisle began its first session. For the next few years, Pratt and his school were viewed as a tremendous success. Due to this success, Carlisle received more and more financial support from the federal government. During these years, the government showed its satisfaction in the Carlisle-style school, by allowing 25 more of these off-reservation schools to be formed.

During the decade following the formation of the Carlisle School several substantial Indian policies were formulated. Once again, these served to promote Indian assimilation. Historically, the general allotment or Dawes Act of 1887 was one of the most influential Indian policies of all time! This act, which according to the Board of Indian Commissioners "offers the Indians the possibility to become a new man instead of remaining a ward of the government."[45] This act attempted to break up tribal communities, cultural traditions, and communal

lands by making Indians individual land owners.[46] Under the provisions of this policy, specific reservations were severed into many 160 acre parcels which were apportioned to individual families.

Soon after the enactment of this act it was learned that relatively few Indians implemented this land for agricultural purposes.[47] Thus, in 1891, a special provision to the Dawes Act was made. This provision allowed the leasing of Indian allotments.[48]

The Dawes Act had a great impact upon the usage of Indian lands. In many cases the allotted apportionments fell far short of the original land holdings of the Indians. According to allotment policy, this land was available for public sale.[49]

Both the leasing policy and the sales of 'excess lands' policy contributed to the destruction of Indian's communal reservation land. These two policies helped to create a vast change of population throughout these old reservation lands. Soon after these two adjuncts to the Dawes Act were approved, began an influx of white, agriculturally minded people to purchase the available lands. Thus, what was once the homogenous land of a particular native tribe was transformed into an integrated "checkerboard," with whites controlling the majority of 'squares.'

The permeation of whites into former reservation lands affected more than the status of land ownership; for with the influx of whites came the 'European ways of life.'

Small towns began to develop as the white population increased.

In the two years, 1905 and 1906, two Indian educational bills were passed by Congress. In the first bill of 1905, the Attorney General "rendered a decision" allowing the federal government to make contracts with sectarian schools using Indian trust moneys to pay for the schooling of Indian children.[50] Consequently, President Roosevelt ordered the execution of this measure. And in 1906, the Indian Bureau took over the school system of the five civilized tribes. Both of these decisions were accompanied by an increasing amount of interest in on-reservation schools of the boarding or day nature. During this same period, President Roosevelt and the Indian Commission began to press for the implementation of Civil Service rules in conjunction with Indian education. Under this enactment, only governmentally approved people were allowed to be associated with Indian schools. These measures were enacted to stamp out the "home rule" policies during the eighties and nineties which allowed local politics to control Indian interests.[51]

This policy was also enforced at Pratt's Carlisle School. But not without much opposition from the dogmatic soldier. According to Pratt, the Civil Service program was "a bundle of inefficiency and hindrance."[52] However, President Roosevelt did not agree with Pratt and the Civil

Service reform was 'his baby!'" In a meeting with the Board of Indian Commissioners, Roosevelt claimed:

> "About the necessity of an agent or the superintendent of a school appointing his own employees. It is always a little bit difficult for me to discuss that question, because the first thing to do is to tell the gentleman that...the agent and other officers do not appoint their own men, under the patronage system. An exceptional man here and there, who is given an exceptionally strong position... may be able to do so, but in the immense majority of cases...they cannot."[53]

Times were ripe for a change in Indian educational policy. During the eighties, nineties, and tens, there were many critics of off-reservation boarding schools. They felt that attendance was inconsequential, and that costs were too high. Compounding the validity of these economical objections, were the claims that the Indians who graduated from Carlisle merely "returned to the blanket."[54]

These same feelings were held by Commissioner Francis Leupp (1904-09). He thought that the spending for Indian education was exorbitant. He referred to the Carlisle School as "an educational almshouse."[55]

In 1903, Richard Pratt was 62, the eligible age for army retirement. Pratt's retirement could have been decided by two people, either Pratt or the President of the United States. Later that year Pratt was relieved of military duty by President Roosevelt.[56] (Many people feel that this action of the President was directly attributable to Pratt's former public disagreements with Roosevelt concerning Civil Service reform.[57]) Shortly thereafter

Pratt resigned as superintendent of the Carlisle School.

Within a decade of this decision, Carlisle School was transformed from a "[illegible] respected institution" of education to an inconsequential governmental burden. Shortly thereafter, the existence of Carlisle School was discontinued under the pretense of economic difficulties. With reference to the historico-political times preceding the school's closure, one may surmise that these 'economic difficulties' could not have been the only factor which in effect ended the existence of a 'Carlisle tradition.' "But what were these factors?"

As a historical event, the closing of the Carlisle Indian School is in many way analagous to other historical events. The causation of these events is most always the result of several interacting factors; this is true for the downfall of the Carlisle School.

During the first decade of its existence, the school was an experimental means of Indian education; its progress was monitored by government policy makers and also by the public. During the second decade of its existence, more facts concerning the effectiveness of this educational institution were studied.

Slowly, an 'official opposition' to the 'Carlisle style' off-reservation boarding school was being formed. At first, this was exhibited by only a few outspoken people, but gradually more and more government officials came to hold these "anti-off-reservation boarding school" opinions. This movement was directly attributed to the

aforementioned factors, economics, poor efficiency of education and the "return to the blanket." In accordance to these sentiments, legislation to support day schools and on-reservation boarding schools began to appear.

During this transitional period, Pratt fought strongly against these reforms. He exhibited never ending drives to further the 'success' of all 'Carlisle-styled' boarding schools. He considered the Indian Bureau which supported anti-Carlisle measures to be the major "Indian problem."[28]

Throughout most of his lifetime Pratt was a very influential man with respect to Indian policies. Consequently, for many years, his forceful opinion had influenced Indian policy in the area of education. His forced retirement from the army and retirement as superintendent of the Carlisle School marked a diagnosis of death for the Carlisle School. For after his resignation, no one person, and in all likelihood, especially not ~~even~~ Pratt himself, could have influenced the changing policies of the Indian Bureau.

In the decade following his death, new strategies for Indian-assimilative education were implented. Our government, with increased emphasis upon the near-reservation schools, terminated the existence of Carlisle under the pretense of bankruptcy.

Thus, the initial question which was voiced in the preface has been answered. But what are the consequences of answering such a question. Does it merely serve to educate us concerning a two-score period of American history?

Or, does the answer to such a question have further ramifications?

Part IV

It has been more than half a century since the closing of the Carlisle School. With this passage of time, many new Indian policies have been initiated. Therefore, the "Carlisle School" time period may be viewed from an opportune vantage point; the social scientist is able to study the school from all angles, pre-school, school, and post-school. Such a study, if done assiduously, is bound to exhume more than the answer to the simple question of "why" a particular event has occurred.

In an attempt to answer my initial question, I have perused 500 years of Indian-American history and policy. This study enabled me to consciously compare Carlisle School's off-reservation boarding educational policies to the gammet of Indian educational policy extending throughout the existence of a 'new world.' With this study, I may say conclusively that the Carlisle institution approaches a perfect microcosmic representation of Indian policy throughout Euro-Native contact.

Throughout this period, Indian policy has very often reflected an ethnocentric paternalistic air; a characteristic very often attributable to the predominantly white policy makers, and the general white public. Indians were seldom considered when solving the Indian problem. Ironically, the Indian equated whitemen to 'Indian problem'. The protestations by

Indians against Carlisle School were never considered. The grass-roots opposition among Indians with respect to Carlisle boarding school was ignored. At that time, many Indians held the same feelings as the parents of a Carlisle student. He said, "spotted tail be to the great fathers house so often that he has learned to tell lies and deceive people."[59] The white policy-makers evidently did not hold much creedence in these Indian feelings. As a matter of fact, they completely disregarded these Indian feelings. Policies were instead made by 'humanitarians' 'who knew what Indian educational policy should include.'

But this presumptive role of "'white humanitarians' solving the Indians' woes" does not end with Indian education per se. All other Indian policies were made in the same manner. The list is expansive; what about relocation, allotment, termination, land trusts? The decisions for all of these Indian policies, whether economical, political, or educational, have been made by non-Indians, people holding outside interests in their decisions.

According to a psychiatrist interested in the historical white domination of Indians:

> "The history of Euro-Americans is one of violence, oriented toward conquering and controlling. Conquering and controlling permeates the Euro-Americans' entire social system."[60]

For years the power dominant Euro-American society has controlled the natives. This hierarchical relationship, according to some, is related to two American intellectual processes, "conquering and controlling" and "systems of

denial."[61] According to this theory, "Euro-Americans conquered American Indian people, then denied this by saying that they brought civilization."[62] In accordance with this outlook, Indian policy has been a reflection of the desires of a power-dominant group. Indians have purposely been excluded from participating in the task of solving the Indian problem to protect the interests of a dominant Euro-white power structure.

It was this power structure that created a Carlisle School. Moreover, this characteristically 'Euro-white' power structure has been responsible for the formation of Indian policy since the 'discovery' of 'the new world'.

The mode of thought which promotes this structure, that which promulgated the patently ethnocentric assimilationist ideals of the institutional Carlisle School, has continued throughout Euro-white contact. This same perverted thought process has created a pathway of policy-related destruction throughout the years; it has accounted for broken treaties, forced assimilative education, destruction of communal lands, and forced citizenship. All ot these policies were an attempt to solve the 'Indian problem.' But they all failed!

The solution to the Indian problem has never been accomplished, neither in Carlisle's educational assimilation, nor in the gammet of Indian policies thereafter. Could this failure be attributed to the whiteman's conceptualization of the Indian problem? Or is this failure a result of faulty solutions to these conceptualizations? Its failure

is probably a combination of both of these factors.

The study of the Carlisle School focuses these reasons for failure into a specific context. What has been conceptually resolved however is a microcosm of Euro-white relationships throughout 'new world' history. This 'whiteman's-red-policy' controlled the Carlisle institution and has been the means of white control over Indians since contact.

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Footnotes

[1]Henry, Jeanette, The American Indian Reader, 1972, p. 1.

[2]Estelle Fuchs and Robert Haringhurst, To Live On This Earth, (New York, 1972), p. 1.

[3]Jeanette, p. 31.

[4]Ibid, p. 38.

[5]Ibid, p. 46.

[6]Fuchs and Havinghurst, p. 9.

[7]Elaine Eastman, The Red Man's Moses, (Norman, OKLA., 1935), p.13.

[8]Ibid, p. 13.

[9]Ibid, p. 16.

[10]Ibid, p. 16.

[11]The Indian School at Carlisle Barracks (Washington, 1880), p.3.

[12]Ibid, p. 3.

[13]Ibid, p. 4.

[14]Ibid, p. 53.

[15]Ibid, p. 6.

[16]Eastman, p. 49.

[17]Ibid, p. 57

[18]Ibid, p. 59.

[19]R.H. Pratt, American Indians Chained and Unchained (Phil. 1912), p. 9.

[20]Ibid, p. 9.

[21]Ibid, p. 9.

[22]Ibid, p. 9.

[23]Ibid, p. 9.

[24]Ibid, p. 9.

[25]Ibid, p. 9.

[26]Eastman, p. 77.

[27]Pratt, p. 10.

[28]Eastman, p. 1.

[29]Pratt, p. 15.

[30]Ibid, p. 10.

[31]Ibid, p. 11.

[32]Ibid, p. 12.

[33]R.H. Pratt, The Indian Industrial School, (1908), p. 1.

[34]Ibid, p. 14.

[35]Ibid, p. 21.

[36]Ibid, p. 16.

[37]Eastman, p. 222.

[38]Ibid, p. 223.

[39]Ibid, p. 224.

[40]Ibid, p. 229.

[41]Ibid, p. 262.

[42]Pratt, Chains..., p. 16.

[43]Fuchs, p. 43.

[44]Jeanette, p. 36.

[45]Lyman S. Tyler, A History of Indian Policy,(Wash. 1973), p. 75.

[46]Ibid, p. 95.

[47]Ibid, p. 102.

[48]Ibid, p. 108.

[49]Ibid, p. 97.

[50]Ibid, p. 106.

[51]Eastman, p. 237.

[52]Ibid, p. 241.

[53]Ibid, p. 255.

[54]Ibid, p. 255.

[55]Ibid, p. 266.

[56]Ibid, p. 266.

[57] Ibid, p. 266.

[58] Ibid, p. 252.

[59] Tyler, p. 46.

[60] Ibid, p. 62.

[61] Ibid, p. 57.

[62] Ibid, p. 58.